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## MUTUAL HELPFULNESS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY, WU TING-FANG, CHINESE MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES.

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TRADE, which lies at the foundation of international intercourse, has an eminently selfish origin. It is a constant manœuvrer on the part of men to sell dear and buy cheap. Since each party in a commercial transaction seeks only his own advantage, it was for a long time thought that one of them could gain only at the expense of the other. Thus the "mercantile system," which for centuries held Europe spellbound, made gold-getting the end and aim of all commercial activities. The promotion of friendly relations with the object of securing an exchange of benefits was not considered of even secondary importance. Then came the navigation laws which had for their avowed purpose the crippling of all rival shipping by laying a heavy tax upon the carrying trade of foreigners. Though such measures are no longer considered advisable in the commercial world, their baleful effects are still felt in the political thought of the present time.

Nations now enter into friendly relations with each other because it is believed that both sides are benefited by such rela-

tions. Their transactions cannot be one-sided affairs, for the simple reason that it takes two to make a bargain. If one party is dissatisfied with the arrangement, the other party will not long have an opportunity to enjoy its benefits.

Confucius was once asked for a single word which might serve as a guiding principle through life. "Is not reciprocity such a word?" answered the great sage. "What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others." This is the "Golden Rule" which should govern the relations of man to man. It is the foundation of society. It lies at the bottom of every system of morality, and every system of law. If it holds good with respect to individuals, it ought to hold good with respect to nations, which are but large aggregations of individuals. Therefore, if permanent relations are to be established between two nations, reciprocity must be the key-note of every arrangement entered into between them.

Having recognized this great principle of international intercourse, how shall we apply it to the case of China and the United States in such a manner as to result in mutual helpfulness? Assuredly, the first thing to do is to take a general survey of the situation and see what are the present needs of each country. Then we shall perceive clearly how each may help the other to a higher plane of material development and prosperity.

The United States now has its industrial machinery perfectly adjusted to the production of wealth on a scale of unprecedented magnitude. Of land, the first of the three agents of production enumerated by economists, the United States is fortunately blessed with an almost unlimited amount. Its territory stretches from ocean to ocean, and from the snows of the Arctic Circle to the broiling sun of the tropics. Within these limits are found all the products of soil, forest and mine that are useful to man. With respect to labor, the second agent of production, the United States at first naturally suffered the disadvantage common to all new countries. But here the genius of the people came into play to relieve the situation. That necessity, which is "the mother of invention," substituted the sewing machine for women's fingers, the McCormick reaper for farm hands, the cotton gin for slaves. The efficiency of labor was thereby multiplied, in many cases, a hundred fold. The ingenious manner in which capital, the third agent of production, is put to a profitable use, is equally characteristic of America. It is well known that there is an enormous

amount of capital in this country seeking investment. Every one who has a little to invest wishes to obtain as large a return as possible. Since competition reduces profits, the formation of industrial combinations, commonly called trusts, is for the capitalist the logical solution of the difficulty. These enable the vast amount of capital in this country to secure the best results with the greatest economy. Whether they secure “the greatest good to the greatest number” is another matter.

The development of the resources of the United States by the use of machinery and by the combination of capital has now reached a point which may be termed critical. The productive power of the country increases so much faster than its capacity for consumption that the demand of a population of 75,000,000 is no sooner felt than supplied. There is constant danger of over-production, with all its attendant consequences. Under these circumstances, it is imperative for the farmers and manufacturers of the United States to seek an outlet for their products and goods in foreign markets. But whither shall they turn?

At first sight, Europe presents perhaps the most inviting field. Both blood and association point in this direction. But here the cottons of Lowell would have to compete with the fabrics of Manchester. The silk manufactures of Paterson would stand small chance of supplanting the finished products of Lyons. The sugar of Louisiana would encounter a formidable rival in the beet-sugar of Germany. England could probably better afford to sell her coal and iron cheaper than Pennsylvania, and Russia could supply European markets with wheat and petroleum as well as could Ohio and Indiana. Competition would be keen and destructive.

Central and South America have as yet too sparse a population for the immense territory they cover to meet the conditions of a market for American goods. Some decades must elapse before American farmers and manufacturers can look to that quarter for relief.

But on the other side of the Pacific lies the vast Empire of China, which in extent of territory and density of population exceeds the whole of Europe. To be more particular, the Province of Szechuen can muster more able-bodied men than the German Empire. The Province of Shantung can boast of as many native-born sons as France. Scatter all the inhabitants of Costa Rica or Nicaragua in Canton, and they would be completely lost in that

city's surging throngs. Transport all the people of Chile into China and they would fill only a city of the first class. Further comparisons are needless. Suffice it to say that China has her teeming millions to feed and to clothe. Many of the supplies come from outside. The share furnished by the United States was considerably larger last year than ever before, and might be greatly increased. According to the statistics published by the United States Government, China in 1899 took American goods to the value of \$14,437,422, of which amount \$9,844,565 was paid for cotton goods. All the European countries combined bought only \$1,484,363 worth of American cotton manufactures during that same period. The amount of similar purchases made by the Central American States was \$737,259, by all the South American countries \$2,713,967. It thus appears that China is the largest buyer of American cotton goods. British America comes next in the list with purchases amounting to \$2,759,164. Cotton cloth has a wide range of uses in all parts of the Chinese Empire, and it is almost impossible for the supply to equal the demand.

Up to the year 1898, cotton goods and kerosene were the only articles imported from the United States in large enough quantities to have a value of over \$1,000,000. But I notice in the statistics published by the United States Government for the year 1899, that manufactures of iron and steel have also passed that mark. This is due to the fact that China has now begun in real earnest the work of building railroads. The demand for construction materials is great. The value of locomotives imported last year from the United States was \$732,212.

Besides the articles mentioned, there are many others of American origin, which do not figure in the customs returns as such. These find their way into China through adjacent countries, especially Hongkong. At least three-fourths of the imports of Hongkong, notably wheat, flour and canned goods, are destined for consumption in the Chinese mainland.

Such is the present condition of trade between the United States and China. That trade can be greatly extended. Let the products of American farms, mills, and workshops once catch the Chinese fancy, and America need look no farther for a market. The present popularity of American kerosene illustrates the readiness of the Chinese to accept any article that fills a long-felt want.

They have recognized in kerosene a cheap and good illuminant, much superior to their own nut-oil, and it has consequently found its way into distant and outlying parts of the Empire where the very name of America is unknown. Stores in the interior now send their agents to the treaty ports for it. In the same way, foreign made candles, because cheaper than those of home make, are selling easily in China. I would suggest that American farmers and manufacturers might find it to their advantage to study the wants and habits of the Chinese and the conditions of trade in China.

Thus we see that China can give the United States a much-needed market. What, on the other hand, can the United States do for China? Let us consider China's stock of the three requisites for the production of wealth—land, labor and capital.

The Chinese Empire embraces a continuous territory which stretches over sixty degrees of longitude and thirty-four degrees of latitude. Nature has endowed this immense region with every variety of soil and climate, but has, however, scattered her bounties over it with an uneven hand. That portion which comprises the eighteen provinces of China Proper, extending from the Great Wall to the China Sea, and from the Tibetan plateau to the Pacific Ocean, is more highly favored than the rest. Whenever China is mentioned, it is generally this particular portion of the empire that is meant. On this land hundreds of generations of men have lived and died without exhausting its richness and fertility. There remains for generations to come untold wealth of nature lying hidden within the bowels of the earth. The mines of Yunnan, though they have for centuries supplied the government mints with copper for the coining of those pieces of money commonly known as cash, only await the introduction of modern methods of extraction to yield an annual output as large as that of the famous Calumet and Hecla mines. The sands of the Yangtsze, washed down from the highlands of Tibet, contain so much gold that that part of its course as it enters the Province of Szechuen is called the River of Golden Sand. Much more important than these, however, are the deposits of coal which underlie the surface formation of every province. All varieties of coal are found, from the softest lignite to the hardest anthracite, and in such quantities that, according to the careful estimate of Baron Richtofen, the famous German traveler and geologist, the Province of Shansi

alone can supply the whole world at the present rate of consumption, for 3,000 years. In most cases, beds of iron ore lie in close proximity to those of coal and can hence be easily worked and smelted. In short, the natural resources of China, both in variety and quantity, are so great that she stands second to no other nation in potential wealth. To reduce this potentiality to actuality is for her the most important question of the hour. For this purpose, she has an almost unlimited supply of labor at her command.

Every village can count its thousands of laborers, every city its tens of thousands. Experience proves that the Chinese as all-round laborers can easily distance all competitors. They are industrious, intelligent, and orderly. They can work under conditions that would kill a man of a less hardy race; in heat that would suit a salamander or in cold that would please a polar bear, sustaining their energies through long hours of unremitting toil with only a few bowls of rice.

But have the Chinese sufficient capital to carry on their industrial operations? They are a nation of shopkeepers. What capital they have is usually invested in small business ventures. It is their instinct to avoid large enterprises. Thus, the capital in the country, though undoubtedly large, may be likened to a pile of sand on the beach. It has great extent, but is so utterly lacking in cohesion that out of it no lofty structure can be built. Before China can be really on the high road to prosperity, it must find means of fully utilizing every economic advantage that it has. Modern methods are its greatest need. Here is America's opportunity.

The Yankee is never seen to better advantage than when experimenting with a new idea on a colossal scale. To direct vast or novel enterprises is a perfectly new experience to the Chinaman. Give him a junk and he will with ease ride out the fiercest typhoon that ever lashed the seas. But give him an ocean leviathan of the present day, with its complicated engines, dynamos, compasses and other modern appliances for navigating a ship, and he will be truly "all at sea" in knowing how to handle it, even in a dead calm.

Of all public works, China has most pressing need of railroads. Only ten years ago it would have been difficult to convince one man in ten of the immediate necessity for the introduction of

railroads into all the provinces of the empire. To-day, at least nine out of every ten believe that railroads ought to be built as fast as possible. This complete change of public opinion within so short a time shows perhaps better than anything else how fast China is getting into the swing of the world's forward movement. There are at present only about 400 miles of railroad open to traffic throughout the whole country, and all the lines building and projected foot up to 5,000 or 6,000 miles more. China Proper covers about as many square miles as the States east of the Mississippi. Those States, with a population of 50,000,000, require 100,000 miles of railroad to do their business. China, with a population eight times as large, would naturally be supposed to need at least about an equal mileage of roads for her purposes. It would not be strange if the activity in railroad construction in the United States soon after the Civil War should find a parallel in China in coming years.

The building of railroads in China does not partake of the speculative character which attended the building of some of the American roads. There are no wild regions to be opened up for settlement, no new towns to be built along the route. Here is a case of the railroad following the population, and not that of the population following the railroad. A road built through populous cities and famous marts has not long to wait for traffic. It would pay from the very beginning.

The first railroad in China was built for the transportation of coal from the Kaiping mines to the port of Taku. I was chiefly instrumental in securing its construction. The line, though in an out-of-the-way corner of the empire, proved so profitable from the very start that it was soon extended to Tientsin and Peking in one direction, and to Shanhaikwan, the eastern terminus of the Great Wall, in the other. Not long ago it was thought advisable to build a branch beyond Shanhaikwan to the treaty port of Newchwang. This branch has been completed and will soon be opened to traffic. Minister Conger, in a recent letter to the State Department, says that the road now pays a dividend of 14 per cent. on the whole capital invested, and that when the entire line is open a dividend of 30 per cent. is expected. The era of railroad building in China may be said to have just dawned. China desires nothing better than to have Americans lend a hand in this great work.

It gave me great pleasure two years ago to obtain for an American company a concession to build a railroad between Hankow, the great distributing center of Central China, and Canton, the great distributing center of South China. The line is to connect with the Lu-Han line on the north and with the Kowloon line on the south, and throughout its whole length of more than 900 miles will run through opulent cities, fertile valleys and cultivated plains. The construction of such a line by Americans through the heart of China cannot fail to bring the people of the two countries into closer relations.

Besides railroads, there are other public works which China must undertake sooner or later. Among them are river and harbor improvements, city water supplies, street lighting and street railways. Owing to the traditional friendship between the two countries, our people are well disposed toward Americans. They are willing to follow their lead in these new enterprises, where they might spurn the assistance of other people with whom they have been on less friendly terms in the past.

Such being the economic interdependence of China and the United States, what policy should each country pursue toward the other in order to gain the greatest good from that relationship? In my judgment, true reciprocity is impossible unless each country has perfect confidence in the other and displays on all occasions a desire for fair play and honest dealing.

Now, reciprocity demands the "open door." China long ago adopted that policy in her foreign intercourse. She has treaty relations with all the European Powers, together with the United States, Brazil, Peru, Mexico, Japan and Korea. All these are equally "favored nations" in every sense of the term. The Swede and the Dane enjoy the same rights, privileges, immunities and exemptions with respect to commerce, navigation, travel, and residence throughout the length and breadth of the Empire as are accorded to the Russian or the Englishman. Any favor that may be granted to Japan, for instance, at once inures to the benefit of the United States. Indeed, China in her treatment of strangers within her gates has in a great many respects gone even beyond what is required by international usage. According to the usual practice of nations, no country is expected to accord to foreigners rights which are not enjoyed by its own subjects or citizens. But China has been so long accustomed to indemnify foreigners who

have fallen victims to mob violence that she is looked upon in a sense as an insurer of the lives and property of all foreigners residing within her borders. To such an extent is this idea current among foreigners in China that some years ago an American missionary in the Province of Shantung, who happened to have some articles stolen from his house in the night, estimated his loss at \$60, and actually sent the bill through the American Minister at Peking to the Foreign Office for payment. The Chinese tariff also favors foreigners resident in China much more than it does the Chinese themselves. Most articles imported for the use of foreigners are on the free list. Such is the treatment which Americans in common with the subjects and citizens of other foreign powers receive in China.

Justice would seem to demand equal consideration for the Chinese on the part of the United States. China does not ask for special favors. All she wants is enjoyment of the same privileges accorded other nationalities. Instead, she is singled out for discrimination and made the subject of hostile legislation. Her door is wide open to the people of the United States, but their door is slammed in the face of her people. I am not so biased as to advocate any policy that might be detrimental to the best interests of the people of the United States. If they think it desirable to keep out the objectionable class of Chinese, by all means let them do so. Let them make their immigration laws as strict as possible, but let them be applicable to all foreigners. Would it not be fairer to exclude the illiterate and degenerate classes of all nations rather than to make an arbitrary ruling against the Chinese alone? Would it not be wiser to set up some specific test of fitness, such as ability to read intelligently the American Constitution? That would give the Chinese a chance along with the rest of the world, and yet effectually restrict their immigration. Such a law would be practically prohibitory as far as all except the best educated Chinese are concerned, for the reason that the written language of the Chinese is so entirely different from the spoken tongue that few of the immigrants would be able to read with intelligence such a work as the American Constitution. Nevertheless, a law of that kind would be just in spirit and could not rouse resentment in the Chinese breast.

Since the law and the treaty forbid the coming of Chinese laborers, I must do all I can to restrict their immigration. I

should, however, like to call attention to the fact that the Chinese Exclusion Act, as enforced, scarcely accomplishes the purpose for which it was passed. It aimed to provide for the exclusion of Chinese laborers only, while freely admitting all others. As a matter of fact, the respectable merchant, who would be an irreproachable addition to the population of any country, has been frequently turned back, whereas the Chinese high-bindlers, the riff-raff and scum of the nation, fugitives from justice and adventurers of all types have too often effected an entrance without much difficulty. This is because the American officials at the entrance ports are ignorant of Chinese character and dialects and cannot always discriminate between the worthy and unworthy. Rascals succeed in deceiving them, while the respectable but guileless Chinese are often unjustly suspected, inconveniently detained, or even sent back to China. A number of such cases have been brought to my attention. It must not be supposed, however, that I blame any official. In view of their limited knowledge of Chinese affairs, it is not strange that the officials sometimes make mistakes. The Americans judge us wrongly, just as we often misjudge them. This unpleasant state of things is to be deplored, and I would suggest that difficulties might be avoided, if the regular officials, in passing on immigrant Chinamen, could have the assistance of Chinese consuls, or people fitted by training and experience in China for the discharge of such duties.

Great misunderstanding exists in the United States in regard to Chinese questions. There is a current fear that if all restrictions on Chinese immigration were removed, the United States would be flooded with my countrymen. Inasmuch as China contains some 400,000,000 inhabitants, a wholesale emigration would certainly be a serious matter for the people of the country to which they removed. But there is no danger of such a calamity befalling the United States. Those who view it with alarm only show how profoundly ignorant they are of Chinese character. One of the most striking features of the conservatism of the Chinese is their absolute horror of travel, especially by sea. They regard any necessity for it as an unmitigated evil. They do not often visit neighboring towns, much less adjoining provinces or foreign countries. So pronounced is their prejudice against travel that, until they could be educated into a different view, Chinese railroads would for the first few years have to depend for

their profits on freight rates rather than passenger fares. To the American or Englishman, who proceeds to go abroad as soon as he has accumulated a little money, their state of mind may seem incomprehensible, but it is nevertheless a fact that must be taken into account.

How, then, is the presence of so many Chinese in America explained? By the fact that some forty years ago, when the Pacific Railway was building, there was great scarcity of laborers. Agents went to China and induced a considerable number of Chinese to come to this country and assist in the construction of the railroad. After their work was done most of them returned home, taking their earnings with them. They told their relatives of the exceptional opportunities for making money in this country and they in turn decided to seek their fortunes here. Were it not for this circumstance, there would be no more Chinese in this country than there are in Europe, where wages are also much higher than in China. As it is, all who are in the United States are from the Province of Canton, and they come from two or three places only of that one province.

It has been said that the rules of international intercourse as observed by Western nations among themselves are not applicable to intercourse with Eastern nations. True it is that the people of the East speak different languages and have different customs, manners, religions, and ways of thinking from the people of the West. But the rule of contraries is by no means a safe guide through the intricacies of social observances. By disregarding the common civilities of life, which are considered very important in China, and by assuming a lofty air of superiority, foreigners frequently make themselves unpopular in China. Americans have the reputation there of being abrupt, English dictatorial. In recent years, competition in trade with people of other nationalities has reduced their profits and forced them, for the sake of obtaining custom, to be more suave in their manners. Foreigners are sometimes guilty, also, of practising all sorts of tricks upon the unsuspecting natives. It should be remembered that the Chinese standard of business honesty is very high. The "yea, yea" of a Chinese merchant is as good as gold. Not a scrap of paper is necessary to bind him to his word. Friendly feeling between the people of China and those of the United States would be greatly promoted if the Americans would always remember,

in whatever dealings they may have with the Chinese, that "Honesty is the best policy."

I believe that the Western nations want to treat the people of the Orient fairly. It is gratifying to see that Japan has been able to revise her ex-territorial treaties, and it speaks well for the fairmindedness of England and other countries that they have thrown no obstacles in her way. I hope that the day will soon come when China may follow in her footsteps.

In the meantime, China observes with interest that the planting of the Stars and Stripes in the Philippine Islands will make the United States her neighbor in the future, as she has been her friend in the past. It is her earnest hope that the United States will make no attempt to bar Asiatics from her new shores, but that she will seize this opportunity to strengthen friendly relations of mutual helpfulness between the two countries. No other nation has a stronger claim to the confidence of China than has the United States. The very first article of the first treaty concluded between the two nations provides that there shall be peace and friendship between them and between their people. Through a half century of intercourse, no untoward circumstance has interrupted those amicable relations. More than once the United States Government has used its good offices to promote Chinese interests and welfare. Nations, like individuals, appreciate favors, and, like them also, resent indignities. The sentiment of good will entertained by the Government and people of China toward the Government and people of the United States is strong and profound because of the long, unblemished past, but underneath it all there is, I am sorry to say, a natural feeling of disappointment and irritation that the people of the United States deal now less liberally with the Chinese than with the rest of the world. If the best guarantee of friendship is self-interest, surely the friendship of a nation of 400,000,000 people ought to be worth cultivating. China does not ask for much. She has no thought of territorial aggrandizement, of self-glorification in any form. All she wants is gentle peace, sweet friendship, helpful exchange of benefits, and the generous application of that Golden Rule which people of all nations and all creeds should delight to follow.

WU TING-FANG.

# THE STRUGGLE FOR REFORM IN CHINA.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON, BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED).

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SIGNS are not wanting that we are on the eve of another political convulsion in China, a violent reaction from the masterly and masterful intervention of the Dowager-Empress. The forces which have been swaying China this way and that for the last generation are still actively at work; while time is surely if slowly wearing away the barrier which has kept the flowing tide in check.

Many writers, in a glow of controversial zeal, were led to represent the palace revolution as the visible evidence of an occult struggle between Russia and England for the sovereignty of the Far East; and, considering the forced retirement of the Emperor Kuang-Hsu a victory for the Russian party, they confidently predicted a speedy countercheck from Great Britain, and exulted over it in advance as a victory for progress, enterprise and a higher phase of civilization.

In reality, the revolution in Pekin had nothing whatever to do with either Russia or England. It happened that one of the chiefs on the side of the Dowager-Empress, the venerable Li Hung Chang, was a firm friend of Russia, and this gave color to the partisan view; but it might just as well have been the other way. The watershed of the Chinese movement, so to speak, is a question of internal policy alone.

There are, in fact, two parties in China, one extremely radical and the other extremely conservative. The former is the party of the Emperor Kuang-Hsu; the latter is the party of the Dowager-Empress Tshu-Chsi. The Conservatives, under the lead of this remarkable woman, aspire to keep China as far as possible a forbidden land, a second Tibet, governed on traditional and theocratic lines. The Radicals, on the other hand, desire to see

China follow the lead of Japan, and put on the whole armor of civilization, as we understand it in Europe and America.

But the Conservatives are in sympathy with Russia only to a very limited extent; it is, with them, a sympathy of tradition rather than of policy, for the relations between Russia and China go back to the Middle Ages. They regard Russia as a friendly Asiatic despotism, and hardly as a European country at all.

The Radicals, on the other hand, have no particular sympathy with England. It is, indeed, one of the elements of their policy to foster closer relations with Japan, in order that China and Japan together may be able to stand independently as a great Asiatic power, throwing off the yoke of European, and especially of English, interference.

In truth, the questions which divide these two parties in China are much more serious and profound than one would be led to believe from reading the accounts of the critics and chroniclers of our press. They have a way of leaping to conclusions, which shows a great deal of courage, it is true, but, on the other hand, a great ignorance of the Oriental world, and of the thoughts and feelings of Oriental peoples.

It is taken as axiomatic, for example, that a theocratic government is something wholly out of place in the modern world; an exploded superstition of a by-gone age; something quite out of keeping with modern ideas and modern life. But Germany, and indeed every monarchical country, is in principle a theocracy; for the kingship is founded on divine right; and the fact that the coronation is a religious ceremony shows that the divine sanction is still conceived as authorizing the Emperor to rule. Russia, where the Emperor himself sets the crown upon his head, is even more directly theocratic; the ruler draws his right direct from heaven, without the interposition of the Church. But every monarchy is in principle a theocracy, just as every aristocracy admits the principle of ancestor-worship.

So that there is nothing essentially incompatible with Western ideas in even the extreme ideals of the Chinese Conservatives. And, as far as they believe in adhering to the traditional and native forms of Chinese life, and, incidentally, of Chinese arts and handicrafts, there is much to be said for them, too; for these are the forms of life which they have developed for themselves during generations, and even now their arts and crafts are in

many things so superior to ours that we buy as ornaments things which they destined simply for common use. In Europe the very latest ideal in arts and crafts is the introduction of the personal and creative element in all workmanship as against machinery. But this was the ideal of China and Japan from the outset. Every Japanese and Chinese artisan is an artist, and in this they are a century ahead of their Western critics.

So that one may easily make out a very strong general case for the Conservatives in China. And, when this has been done, it becomes doubly interesting to apply the same process in detail, and to inquire what precisely were the innovations which the Emperor Kuang-Hsu sought to introduce, and why this attempt was so completely frustrated.

First, a word about the Emperor himself. Kuang-Hsu is an imperial title, meaning "Enduring Majesty;" the prince's personal name is Teai-Tsien. He is only twenty-seven years old, though he has borne the title of Emperor ever since the death of his cousin, the Emperor Chai-Chin, five and twenty years ago, and has been sole responsible ruler, in theory at least, for the last nine years. The Emperor Kuang-Hsu is slight and delicate, almost childish in appearance, of pale olive complexion, and with great, melancholy eyes. There is a gentleness in his expression that speaks rather of dreaming than of the power to turn dreams into acts. It is strange to find a personality so ethereal among the descendants of the Mongol hordes; yet the Emperor Kuang-Hsu might sit as a model for some Oriental saint on the threshold of the highest beatitude. Though it is eleven years since his marriage with Princess Eho-na-la, the Emperor is childless.

It is not so long since the nobles of our most civilized Western lands counted it a vice to write well, and slept on rushes in their torch-lit, wooden halls. Their ideals were war and hunting, with bows and arrows, for the most part, with legalized plundering of the agricultural population to renew their supplies of bread. In those days China was far more civilized than any European country; and, in the life of the Chinese Empire, that period is only as yesterday. The two things which have done most to change the relative positions of East and West are gunpowder and printing, yet both of these have been known in China for ages. So that any inherent superiority on the part of the West is rather a pleasing fiction; much might be said in the contrary sense. The

West is superior in combative and destructive elements—the very things which the religion of the West has been trying to eradicate for two thousand years; so that, even from a Western point of view, Europe's material victory is a moral defeat.

Yet it is none the less true that China has been overshadowed and left behind by the Western nations, and the recognition of this fact is the starting point of the Emperor's policy.

He conceives the remedy to be an infusion of new life into the education of the people; a supersession of the wonderful system of intellectual training, perfected centuries ago, which forms all minds alike on the great Chinese Classics, "the best that has been thought and said" in the Celestial Land. It is the battle of utility against culture fought out once more on Chinese lines. Chemistry and physics, engineering and military science are to take the place of essays and poems exquisitely fashioned after ancient models, now the sole test of talent throughout the Empire, and perfection in which is the royal road to fame and fortune.

It is hard to tell which we should most admire, the genuine enthusiasm of all China for literary culture, for familiarity with the highest thoughts and noblest words of the sages, or the marvellous ingenuity and precision with which this knowledge is tested by a system of examinations hardly equalled, and never surpassed, by any nation in the world—the vast halls, with their cloister-like divisions for ten thousand candidates; the seals set on the doors before the papers are given out; the counted sheets of stamped paper with name and number for the essays and poems of each candidate; the army of clerks copying the themes in red ink, lest any personal sign or mark should lead the examiner to recognize a favored pupil; the enthusiastic crowds gathering at the doors; the cannons and music which greet the candidates first to come forth; the literary chancellor ceremoniously presiding; the lists of the successful eagerly bought up in the streets; the chosen essays and poems sent to Court for the delectation of the Emperor; the gold-buttoned caps and blue silk gowns of the graduates; and, lastly, the almost pathetic provision that whoever continues without success to try for any degree until his eightieth year shall receive it free, from the Emperor himself, as a reward for faithful love of learning.

By the way, we should keep some of our admiration for the

more than human ingenuity with which the Chinese students sometimes evade even the strictest precautions: the tunnels dug beneath the examination halls, through which surreptitious knowledge is passed up to the candidates, written minutely on the finest paper; the offices where needy and brilliant essayists are hired to personate dull, wealthy scholars; the refinement of knavery that decrees that, while the rank of the examination to be compounded for rises in arithmetical progression, the bribe increases in geometrical ratio. All this but shows, by crooked ways, how highly learning is esteemed.

Yet all this, while it reminds us how foolish we are to think of Chinamen as uncivilized, is not enough to win the battles of the world. Therefore, the Emperor Kuang-Hsu deemed it necessary to decree reform and the introduction of the utilitarian spirit. Pekin is to have a University, as a rallying point for the modern spirit; and here a characteristic note of Chinese radicalism is struck; for the methods and standards of this first Chinese University are to be taken not directly from Europe, but mediately through Japan. It is conceived that Western ideals will then have undergone a process of partial assimilation and amelioration, making them more immediately suitable for the Chinese mind. In other words, it is held that the Japanese have already improved the culture they received from Europe, and that the Chinese, following in their steps, will improve it still further.

This drawing together of China and Japan is one of the key-notes of the radical programme of the Emperor Kuang-Hsu. "China and Japan," says a recent edict, "have a common language, they belong to the same race, they have all interests in common."

So a band of students are to set out from the Celestial Empire to the Flowery Land, as guests of the Japanese nation, there to absorb the light which they are presently to radiate, as teachers, in their own land. Two hundred are to go, as a beginning, and they are already being chosen among those who have some knowledge of Japanese. And before they return, if Kuang-Hsu's programme is carried out, Pekin will have, besides her University, a whole system of primary and intermediate schools, and this system, modelled on the best Western plans, will gradually be extended to every considerable city of the Empire.

The University of Tokio, which is held to be the high-water

mark of blended European and Japanese culture, is to serve as the model for the Pekin institution, and temporary quarters have been assigned to the teachers in the princely palaces of the capital, pending the erection of suitable University buildings. Meanwhile, the sum originally allotted to the Committee on Education has been increased threefold, by a special Imperial edict, and the sum set aside for the maintenance of the committee has been doubled.

The thoroughly practical spirit pervading this new educational movement in China is shown in an Imperial order recently dispatched to the coast provinces: the Viceroys, Governors, Prefects and District Magistrates—the four chief degrees in the executive hierarchy—are directed to furnish the Emperor with precise information as to possible means of increasing the naval schools and supplying new training-ships for the fleet. A further very practical move is the formation of a Committee on Railroads and Engineering, with orders to draft plans for the opening of schools of railroad engineering at a number of central points through the Empire, from which, it is hoped, railroads will soon radiate to every considerable town, and through all the provinces.

Close on the heels of this follows another Committee on Agriculture, Manufactures and Trade. To the President and Vice-President of this committee are specifically reserved the right of free access to the Emperor at all times, on the business of their departments; and when we remember the divinity that hedges in the Son of Heaven we shall better understand how much he is in earnest, and how clearly he shows it by sacrificing his ceremonial prerogatives. A School of Agriculture is to be formed, with branches in each district of every province of the Empire, and these branch schools are to procure the latest agricultural machinery, and to exhibit its advantages to the mass of cultivators in the rural districts. It is hoped that a decade will not pass before the whole agriculture of China is transformed by the use of tilling and harvesting machines.

Another innovation, which seems to have been borrowed from India, was suggested by last year's famine in the three provinces of Hu-pé, Shan-Si and Shan-tung, all not very far from the capital. The Emperor had discovered that the system of distributing free rations among the starving populations was not a success—or, perhaps we should say, the system of allotting considerable sums to that end. For there is the old tale of peculation and dis-

honest officials, a Chinese version of the charges more than once brought against the American Government in its relations with the Red Indians. The Emperor proposes to adopt the British Indian expedient of relief-works, and further intends to improve the occasion by employing the men at these works in the various new industries which he is seeking to introduce throughout the provinces. This would include the building of railroads, the establishment of agricultural machinery, the extension of irrigation and the introduction of new manufactures. So that a famine will come as a blessing in disguise.

Another very important reform touches the procedure in civil cases. It is said that the Chinese courts have a bad eminence in civil law's delays, keeping a good fat process on the files for months and years, and even decades, to the end that many bribes may be taken; and after a judge has taken many bribes from both sides it becomes very embarrassing to decide the case at all. The traditional solution in India is to put the final decision up to auction. Before we pass too heavy a sentence on this form of corruption and brand it as the mark of an inferior race, we should remember that Sir Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, whom Shelley wrongly called "Lord Bacon," and whom Mr. Gladstone even more wrongly called "Francis, Lord Bacon," was degraded for selling the decisions of the highest court in the England of his day. Experience makes it probable that this reform will be one of the hardest to enforce, since its success depends largely on the good-will of the very judges to be reformed.

Yet another measure shows a daring spirit of innovation: the foundation of a new Medical College at Pekin, for the express purpose of introducing the methods of modern Europe. A license for this College has already been granted; but it has dark days before it, for it strikes a blow at vested interests of the most extensive character, founded on most venerable traditions. It is as though the Federal Government were to organize and endow a College for Mental Healing. One could predict stormy days for it, whatever opinion one held as to the Efficacy of Faith. It is true that Kuang-Hsu throws a sop to Cerberus by including in the course the traditional medical practice of China side by side with the new methods of the West. But it seems to me that this is a false move; for what battles there may be between the rival professors! Homeopathy and allopathy will be nothing to it.

But the next reform on the Emperor's list admits of no healing balm. It is a decree for the suspension of the famous Six Boards, a series of venerable sinecures, supposed to look after the education of the heir apparent, the royal stables, the due performance of bowings and kneelings, the imperial banquets, and so forth. Every European Court has half a dozen departments equally ornamental. These interesting survivals—and the salaries—are to become a thing of the past, their nominal duties are to be passed on to Committees of the Senate, and the buildings they occupied are to be turned over to the new Medical College and the Pekin University.

From a tactical point of view, this seems the Emperor's first grave mistake, for it sets the whole of the permanent Civil Service against the reform programme. Like many another bringer of glad tidings, his course might have been smoother if he could only have been persuaded to leave the Scribes and Pharisees alone. And the whole army of bureaucrats and lesser officials has evidently taken alarm, for we find a recent edict of the Emperor speaking in the following terms:

"The Government of the Chinese Empire, striving to elevate the various departments of the administration, and with the sole design of conferring benefits on the people, wishes to employ to this end the methods of the nations of the West, since what is common to the Western nations and the Chinese, has been brought to greater excellence by the former, and may, therefore, serve for our advancement.

"At the same time, the bureaucrats and scholars of this Empire, whose views of foreign nations are characterized by the greatest ignorance, pretend that Western nations are totally devoid of order and enlightenment, not knowing that among the Western nations there are many forms of political science which have as their sole aim the moral elevation of the people, and their material well-being, and which, from their high development, are able to heap benefits on mankind, and to prolong the span of human life. In the West, all efforts are directed to procuring the blessings which mankind is entitled to.

"In our ceaseless efforts to reform various departments of the administration, we are by no means prompted by a mere desire for novelty, but by a sincere aspiration for the well-being of the Empire entrusted to us by Providence, and handed down to us by our ancestors. We shall not have fulfilled our duty, if we fail to secure to all our people, the blessings of peace and prosperity.

"And we are not less grieved at the slights which China has had to submit to, at the hands of foreign governments. But so long as we do not possess the knowledge and science of other peoples, we shall not be able to defend ourselves against them.

"At the same time, our subjects evidently fall to understand the

true purpose of our unsleeping endeavors and exertions. The reason of this is that the lower classes of officials and the bureaucrats devoted to routine [the Scribes and Pharisees] not only do not make our intentions clear, but on the contrary, intentionally confuse the people with vain and unseemly speeches. Grieved and vexed that a true understanding of our intentions has not reached our subjects, we inform all China, by the present decree, of the true purpose of our doings. This is in order that our enlightened intentions may be known to the whole people, and that the people may know that trust is to be reposed in their Ruler, who, with the help of all, will mould the Government according to new principles, for the strengthening and elevation of the Chinese Empire.

"To this end we order the Viceroys and Governors to print these our decrees, and to exhibit them on notice-boards, and we order the Prefects and District Magistrates, and all school masters, to explain these decrees to the people. And likewise, we command the Treasurers, Provincial Judges, District Inspectors, Prefects, heads of districts and sub-districts, to lay before us, without fear, statements of their views on all imperial questions. And these statements are to be forwarded to us sealed, and must on no account be kept back by Viceroys and Governors. Finally, we order the present decree to be exhibited in a prominent place, in the offices of all Viceroys and Governors."

This is a most important document, and the key to much that will happen in the natural course of events in the Chinese Empire during the next few years. It is the personal confession of faith of the despotic Ruler of four hundred millions, more than a quarter of the whole human race. To carry out a programme like this Kuang-Hsu had need to be endowed with an uncommonly strong will, and, further, with unerring insight into the character of his helpers. Very much of future history depends on his possession of these two gifts.

Another projected reform is intended to cut at the root of what is certainly the greatest evil in the system of Chinese Government—the malversation of the revenues, made possible by the very loose system of accounts in vogue in the Treasury Department. An autocrat has been defined as one whose budget is not audited; if this be so, the Chinese Empire is suffering from an epidemic of autocrats. This time the trouble lies not so much with the Scribes and Pharisees, as with their friends, the Publicans and Sinners—the farmers of taxes, who bid so much for the right to extort what they can from a long-suffering public. The result of this malversation is such that while the taxable capacity of China is simply enormous, the system of peculation is so thorough and so much sticks to the fingers of the collectors that the Government is almost chronically bankrupt. The estimated revenue of the

Chinese Empire amounts to about twenty cents a year for each inhabitant. This is about one-fiftieth of the rate for most European countries, and less than one-hundredth of that of some. So that if the revenues of China were raised to about the same level per head as, say, those of Belgium or Austria-Hungary, China would have a sum of from four to eight thousand million dollars a year to apply to imperial and administrative purposes. And should the innovations contemplated by Kuang-Hsu really be introduced, there is not the faintest doubt that China could bear as heavy taxes as Belgium or Austria-Hungary, and in that case what a formidable vista is opened up in the direction of allotments for the Chinese Army and Navy to be turned out of the new and modernized schools. Further, what sums could be spent on bounties to enable any and every manufacture to compete with European rival products, not only in China, but in all the markets of the world. The open door is one of those beautiful rules that may work both ways. Supposing the door should be found to open outwards as well as inwards, and supposing the first thing to come forth were a flood of subsidized screw-nails, sufficient to drive Mr. Chamberlain out of the market, would there not be a sort of poetic justice in that?

As far as the revenue is concerned, Kuang-Hsu's avowed purpose does not go beyond a stricter system of accounts, a stoppage of some of the innumerable leaks in the aqueducts which deprive the imperial reservoirs of their supplies. But even a slight measure of success in this direction will raise the revenue of China to a formidable amount, and, further, would increase her borrowing power practically without limit.

And here we approach a very important matter from an international standpoint. To carry out these schemes requires an army of trained and honest administrators; it also requires considerable material resources to keep things going while the changes are being introduced. But, while there are doubtless many strong and honest men in China, the Emperor does not seem as yet to have laid his hand on them; and, as an alternative, he suggests, or adopts the suggestion of, a very remarkable measure. It is nothing less than an appeal to Japan to lend China a band of trained administrators, such as England has lent to Egypt and India. Only, in the case of China, the initiative comes from the borrower, not from the lender. And in the light of this idea the recent

Japanese mission to Pekin, under Marquis Ito, acquires a new significance.

An excellent statement of this side of the question appeared in a recent number of one of the Pekin radical papers. It is worth quoting at some length.

The writer begins by citing instances from the early history of China, and the story of Peter the Great, to show that reforms may best be carried out by foreign agents. He then urges the Emperor to seek the assistance of Marquis Ito in the task of regenerating China, asserting that only by a Japanese alliance can China take a firm attitude toward foreign powers and keep back the horrors of a general war. He continues:

"If Your Majesty could only persuade Marquis Ito to become confidential adviser of China, the reforms which you have undertaken would be promptly carried out, and the international bond between China and Japan would be greatly reinforced; while without Japan's help, the early realization of these reforms is impossible. Even granting that, among the Chinese who have recently entered the arena of public life, a few may be found endowed with the necessary strength of will, they are certain to meet with numberless hindrances, caused by the envy and fear of the enemies of progress. They will spend their energies and lose their reputations in vain efforts, and the ills of the body politic will remain uncured. On the other hand, Marquis Ito, as the experienced minister of a foreign government, who possesses Your Majesty's fullest confidence, and who is well known to fame, could have nothing to fear from intrigues in the task of introducing reforms. And foreign powers, in their international relations with China, would begin to treat our country in a very different manner. Their schemes of aggrandizement at our expense would instantly relax, and this would be the beginning of the transformation of China from a poor and weak country, surrounded with dangers, into a land full of wealth and strength, and rejoicing in the blessings of assured peace. This is the first reason why we must borrow talent from other nations.

"The fundamental principles of Chinese policy are isolation and separation, whilst among Western nations the principles of government are the very opposite of these, namely, intercourse and union; principles which serve to bring about the development of moral and material resources, while isolation and exclusion lead to the very opposite result. To these two principles, intercourse and union, the nations of the West are indebted for their greatness and civilization.

"From the geographical point of view, nations inhabiting the same continent should first unite among themselves. From the point of view of race and language, it is best for kindred peoples to be joined. The peoples of Europe and America do not inhabit the same continent as ourselves; they belong to another race, and speak other tongues. Therefore, in view of these natural obstacles, they cannot be closely united with China. It is quite otherwise with Japan. Although, carried away by her extremely rapid progress, and

that unexpected development which roused the apprehensions of both Europe and America, Japan made war on China, yet, when confronted by Russia, Japan was helpless. It is true that, in order to counter-balance Russia, Japan is making friends with England; but experienced men of affairs are convinced that war between them cannot be averted in the future. Whichever side wins, there will be great changes in the balance of power in Asia. England approached Japan solely because of Russia; England is foreign to us in race; she is foreign to us therefore in spirit also. What if England, whose sole motive is profit, should find it profitable to change sides and enter into an alliance with Russia? Then Japan, standing alone, would certainly perish. Therefore Japan's natural ally is China. If the Celestial Empire, with its vast natural resources, its huge area, its enormous population, should really enter into an alliance with Japan, borrowing from Japan new methods for the development of China's resources, and for the education of competent men, then Japan and China together, in firm union and alliance, could easily withstand either Russia or England, and assure a general peace. This would secure the integrity of the Chinese Emperor's hereditary dominions, and put an end to foreign encroachment. The designs of foreign nations can only be withheld by the material might of China, acting under the moral and intellectual guidance of Japan. Russia cherishes designs of encroachment on the north; as regards England, which is striving to maintain peace and gain its own ends, its demands make Russian policy necessary, but in reality England's designs are wholly commercial and selfish. If an alliance existed between China and Japan, Russia could doubtless carry out her design of a Congress in the interests of universal peace, and could enter into enduring and peaceable relations with the other nations of Europe. This is not only very desirable for China and Japan, but it is an object worthy of the sincere aspiration of the whole human race."

At this point a temporary stop was put to the Chinese dream of regeneration by the interposition of the Conservative party, under the leadership of the Dowager-Empress Tshu-Chsi. This very remarkable woman is the widow of the Emperor I-Tshu, and was co-ruler with the Emperor Chai-Chun from 1861 to 1875, when Kuang-Hsu nominally ascended the throne, being then three years old. As a result of her interposition, the *Imperial Gazette* announced, as we all remember, that the Emperor found it impossible to deal unaided with the vast mass of administrative affairs in the present critical condition of the Empire, "and requested Her Majesty, the Dowager-Empress, who had twice directed the affairs of China with marked success, to lend him her guidance in the conduct of imperial business." Then came three edicts: First, the quite credible announcement that the young Emperor "was very sick;" then, that several reforms were postponed, the famous Six Boards being reinstated; and, lastly, a

series of vigorous measures directed against the young Emperor's advisers. Finally it was declared that, as of yore, the Empire would be governed according to the principles of the sage Confucius.

One of the principles of this sage is obedience to parents; and we must take into account the enormous moral weight this obligation has in China before too hastily accusing the young Emperor of cowardice and supineness. But time is on his side.

It is always a delicate matter to speak of a lady's age, especially if that lady be an Empress; but the masterful Dowager is not far from the patriarchal three score years and ten, while her right-hand man, the hardly less masterful Li Hung Chang, is seventy-five. These two are certainly among the twenty most considerable personalities in the world at this moment, a sufficient evidence that the Chinese race is not effete. But mortality will claim its own, and then will come the turn of young Kuang-Hsu. If it comes even four or five years hence, he will be only about thirty, and his character will have matured in the meantime. I have quoted two Chinese documents at length, in order to show that, if we are counting on the moral and intellectual inferiority of the Chinese, we are suffering from a dangerous illusion. Therefore the success of the young Emperor's plans is quite a probable event; and that success will mean a huge revenue for China; a vast army and fleet on the most modern models, with skilled officers, probably Japanese; a quite unlimited power to subsidize Chinese manufacture against all the world's competition, with a working class of hundreds of millions ready to accept marvellously low wages and quick to master the cheapest and best methods. In a word, it would mean the possible swamping of Western lands, in a military as well as a commercial sense. So that the policy of the door which may open outwards is about the most dangerous for the West that could well be conceived.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

## MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES IN CHINA.

BY POULTNEY BIGELOW.

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THE two most interesting missionaries in China, on the occasion of my first visit, were Professor Wells Williams, who subsequently enriched Yale University by accepting a professorship there, and Father Palladius, an Archimandrite of the Greek Church who had charge of the Russian mission at Pekin. Williams's book on China is still standard authority, and the contributions of Palladius to his government are no less important, though unfortunately they are accessible only to those who read either Russian or German. Both men are now dead, but they represent, each in his sphere, two different sets of ideas in the missionary field.

When I first met him, the Greek Archimandrite had been forty years in Pekin, and had never been anywhere else, excepting for two caravan journeys to Russia. He was an elderly gentleman, with a smile like Benjamin Franklin's, and was famed at the Chinese capital for keeping the best wines and the best tobacco. He was a bachelor, and to-day I recall him when I try to fancy Epicurus in the body. He wore the Chinese pigtail and clothes to match, and people said he could give Chinese mandarins points on etiquette. He gave me, at least, many happy hours, for he talked with a frankness and facility rarely united in a Russian, least of all an Archimandrite. One day, for instance, I asked him bluntly how many converts he had made. He answered that he thought he had made one, but he did not wish to be taken as stating this positively. When I returned to China after an interval of twenty-one years, all my inquiries led me to respect the honesty of this Russian. He said, furthermore: "I have been here forty years, and perhaps I have converted one Chinaman. When missionaries tell you that they have done more than that, do not believe them."

Father Palladius seemed to me not merely an epicure, but a trifle cynical in the things of his own profession. He seemed devoid of that happy enthusiasm which enables some people to delight in illusion. For instance, the present Admiral Holland told me he had a boatswain who was a noble Christian Chinaman. That Christian boatswain was quoted in missionary circles all about Hong Kong and up the Yangtsze River. The mouth of the scoffer was closed by that one convert for many months. The authority exercised by Admiral Holland over the mind of every white man, both merchant and missionary, was such that from Singapore to Hakodadi the work of evangelization received a perceptible boom through this one alleged convert. Every missionary in China owed him a handsome present—at least for a time. But Admiral Holland has returned to England, and the Chinese boatswain has turned out to be no more Christian than the sacred tooth of Buddha.

It is dreadfully baffling to ask questions about missionaries from one end of China to another, and then try to form any coherent conclusions. One might almost as well invite opinions about the Jews as a class. And, strange to say, this divergence of opinion is to be found exactly amongst those whose long residence amongst the Chinese entitles them to be regarded as respectable witnesses. To get thoroughly warmed up in the cause of converting John Chinaman, one must go to Temple Hill, near Chefoo, and talk with Dr. Corbett. He has worked in China almost as long as had Father Palladius when I first knew him. Dr. Corbett is a splendid type of American, dressed exactly as though in his native New England. He wears a long beard, looks about six feet in height, and his eyes sparkle with humor. His wife has been trained in the hospital service and helps him on the medical side of his mission. He welcomed me to a home equipped for family happiness on the Anglo-American plan, not the least important item being the prattle of his children. One must have been alone in China to understand the gratitude of a white man unexpectedly rescued from the depressing surroundings of Chinese travel, and permitted to sit down in a homelike family circle. Dr. Corbett told me that China was being rapidly prepared for a grand Christian awakening; that he and his colleagues had made a large number of converts, but that there were still more who were restrained from avowing their faith because

they feared evil consequences from a social and political point of view. This was told me in the autumn of 1898, and I had heard the same thing at the same place in 1876. Now, Dr. Corbett is a practical worker and had cultivated this field for thirty-six years. He assured me that in that time he had noticed a great improvement in Shantung; that the natives had laid aside much of the hostility which they formerly showed toward strangers. For instance, in his early days such was the hatred of the foreigner that inn-keepers barred their gates when they saw a white man approaching. "To secure a night's lodging," said Dr. Corbett, "I would have to send my baggage and servants ahead, and only appear myself when these had been installed and my room practically engaged."

It is not often that we find the Chinaman outwitted by the white man, least of all by the missionary. "Now," said Dr. Corbett, "I travel up and down Shantung, visiting our different stations, and am received like any other traveller."

He took me over the schools of the mission, and enlarged with satisfaction upon the numbers who went forth to spread the light of the white man's civilization, if not Bible doctrine. Dr. Corbett believes that the Chinese who come to him do so from a pure love of religion. For my own part, I am inclined to think that Dr. Corbett's success is due mainly to his own persuasive personality; to his thorough knowledge of Chinese custom; and, above all, to the fact that in his schools the alleged converts receive an education which is of great practical value to them as merchants or mechanics. It is impossible to suppose that any Chinaman, after receiving the material benefits conferred by the missionary school, should go back to his fellows unmodified. A course in mechanics, arithmetic, history and philosophy, coupled with some practical demonstrations in the field of chemistry, must leave its impression on the mind even of a Celestial. But those who know the devious mind of that strange yellow creature consider him capable of pretending Christianity to the missionaries just as long as he can draw a profit therefrom.

At Chefoo, I had the pleasure of meeting several Protestant missionaries, amongst them Miss Downing, whom I had known in the same place and at the same work twenty-two years before. There are about a hundred and sixty American missionaries in Shantung, and to judge by those at Chefoo, their work is earnest

and animated by an enthusiastic belief in the ultimate evangelization of China. One afternoon I was invited to address a prayer-meeting, where a large roomful of English and American missionaries of both sexes were gathered together, a few in Chinese garb. I felt horribly out of place; but yet I was enormously impressed by the courage and devotion to a lofty ideal stamped upon the faces about me. There are all sorts of missionaries in China, and of them all those typified by Dr. Corbett have the most spiritual vitality. His is the religion of the Puritan who preaches the Saviour crucified, and moves the human heart by truth and truth alone. The men of his mission will preach to Chinamen as to a New England audience, or as our Saviour preached by the Sea of Galilee. A blessing goes with such brave efforts, whether the reward be success or death at the hands of a Chinese mob.

My old friend Palladius called the American missionaries at Chefoo enthusiastic babies. My American friends regarded the Russian Archimandrite as a cynical fox.

Of course, I visited the Jesuit mission at Zickawei to see what changes a quarter of a century had wrought in that place. There were some new faces, but the spirit was unchanged. Chinese orphans, or rather foundlings, were being brought up to useful trades in this vast, missionary machine shop. Beautiful altarpieces, representing Christian saints, were being chiselled by Chinese boys, who would probably soon be burning Joss-sticks to their favorite idols. The good Father pointed out some charred remains of church furniture, and told me the story of how the Chinese mob had set fire to their church, after killing and maiming some of the congregation. In China one becomes accustomed to this chronicle of murder, which is a symptom of the chronic war between mandarin and missionary. I have forgotten the name of the place where this particular massacre happened, nor can I remember the dozens like it. It would surprise the abstract Chinaman, however, to learn that these fragments of charred saints, so far from discouraging further missionary effort, only heighten the zeal of those volunteering for a like risk.

The Jesuit fathers were mainly French, though I had chats with one or two from Bavaria and the Rhine. They wore the Chinese queue and long robes, such as the local men of learning affect. The Jesuits have from the very beginning of their missionary efforts adopted the policy of beating the Chinaman on his

own ground; challenging his respect by a show of learning, not merely in the sciences of Europe, but also in the classics of Confucius. Dr. Corbett, on the contrary, and with him most Evangelical workers, are opposed to imitating the Chinese in their dress or in anything which implies a lowering of the missionary to their level. The Bible Christian will make no pact with heathen philosophy, whereas the disciple of Loyola will conclude any bargain by which he may gain ever so small an advance upon the enemy.

On the occasion of my first visit to Zickawei, I was in company with the French minister at Pekin, and the priests entertained us with food and wine which rivalled those of Father Palladius. Standing at the window, I looked out upon a flat landscape emphasized by a small elevation on the horizon. I asked the priest what that was. He answered that it was the shrine of a saint, and that the Chinese Christians made pilgrimages thither once a year. When I pressed him to tell how he managed to get Christian saints at this place, he shrugged his shoulders, smiled pleasantly, and remarked that, as the Chinese enjoyed gatherings and gongs and banners and such tom-foolery, the missionaries had been compelled to create this pilgrimage or discourage Christianity. Hence this shrine.

In the courtyard he showed me a beautiful statue of the Virgin Mary, with two Chinese in native garb kneeling below. The Virgin was not in Chinese dress, but I suppose that will come in time.

This missionary institution has a school of architecture, where designs are made for Catholic buildings throughout China. Large numbers of books are printed here, all the work being done by Chinese foundlings, under the superintendence of the white priests. Wood-cutting and lithography are taught, also printing in color. Some lurid posters were shown to me, which were destined to hang up in Chinese Christian chapels. Their purpose was to discourage the bad Chinamen and stimulate the good ones. One poster represented the death-bed of the bad Chinaman, whose wickedness was attested by the opium pipe and the gaming dice at his bedside. A black devil, with horns, tail and wings, had fastened an iron collar around his neck, to which was linked a long iron chain. Dragons were rising from a hole in the ground, likewise monstrous flames. The black devil was pro-

ceeding to drag the screaming and resisting wicked Chinaman to the flaming hole in the floor, while his wife and children looked on in distress. At the top of the picture was seated our Saviour, with Chinese slippers on his feet, and an expression on his face that was enough like that of a mandarin to please the average convert. Some angels with Chinese slippers were flitting about, chasing devils.

The pendant to this was the death of a good Chinaman, where the devil looked very much discouraged as he disappeared down a flaming trapdoor in the foreground. An angel in Chinese slippers was watching by the bedside, and above was represented a Chinaman in full official dress, kneeling on clouds before some Christian figures, whom I took to represent Saint Joseph, the Virgin Mary, and our Saviour.

Two of these pious posters were devoted respectively to Heaven and Hell. To a Chinaman, Hell is a pretty simple conception, which is refreshed every day in his daily walks about his native town, and whenever a criminal court is in session. The hell-poster, therefore, merely outdid Dante in the matter of snakes and devils tormenting wretches already crazy with suffering. The poster of Heaven was more subtle. There was a choir of slant-eyed angels, beating gongs, tom-toms and many other instruments vaguely hinted at. In the background were enthroned the Creator and our Saviour, though the chief object of adoration appeared to be the Virgin Mary. In the foreground were a dozen or so happy faces of saints, amongst which were emperors, kings, popes, bishops, and—more conspicuous than any—two Chinamen. For the sake of local prejudice, the women were bunched separate from the men.

These posters were doing duty in 1876 and are so popular to-day that they are constantly reproduced at the mission.

The foundlings I saw were mostly scrofulous. Father Beck, a Bavarian, told me this was a common complaint all over China.

The Jesuits were the pioneer missionaries in China, and to-day do a great work. But now, as then, their success lies not in preaching things spiritual, so much as in demonstrating the power of the white man as compared to the yellow. Every sailor-man in the Far East has gratitude toward the Jesuits of Zickawei, because they tell him when to expect bad weather. The Fathers have a well-equipped observatory connected by wire with many

stations in the Eastern Seas, and thus they can foretell the arrival of typhoons. It is a Jesuit priest who observes the sun, and at exactly twelve o'clock touches an electric button to move the time-ball by which Shanghai Harbor corrects her ships' chronometers.

I was shown a transit instrument made in New York, and a full line of reports of the Smithsonian Institute, the United States Weather Bureau, and other scientific bodies. On the walls were portraits of famous Jesuit missionaries, amongst them Ricci, Schall, and Verbiest, all in the gaudy dress of Chinese grandes. In the adjoining room a Chinese convert was working out typhoon probabilities, while in the yard below sore-headed foundlings were playing about the feet of the Virgin Mary. It was a weird picture this—the co-operation of science and Roman Catholicism for the overthrow of Buddha and Confucius.

The Bavarian priest was a jolly man all round. Like his brethren, he had come here, under vows of poverty and celibacy, to spend his whole life in the service of people who wished him ill in his work. He talked merrily about the relative merits of Munich beer while expecting at any moment an order to proceed to a station where life was highly insecure.

The Jesuit has, of course, only contempt for evangelical methods. He regards the Chinaman as a creature essentially different from the white man, and consequently as one whose senses and emotions must be differently awakened. The idea of a Christian revival in China, on the plan of the Methodist camp-meeting, is regarded by him as absurd. He proposes not to revolutionize, but merely to modify what already exists. As the early Christian Church absorbed amongst the Romans many heathen names and customs, so, in China, the Jesuits, from the days of Ricci to our own, have sought, not so much to expel the local religions as to Romanize them, if not Christianize them. The Jesuit finds much that is admirable in Buddha and Confucius; nor does he deny the possibility of a Chinaman's being a valuable convert and yet burning Joss-sticks at the graves of his ancestors. The Jesuit tells the learned Chinaman that Confucius was practically a Christian so far as his moral philosophy is concerned, and that Buddhism has many good points; but that the Roman Catholic is the religion which embodies what is good in every system, with the additional advantage of having expelled what was idolatrous.

In the days of the early Jesuits this line of argument was fairly successful, but nowadays so strong has the feeling against foreigners become that the Chinaman is inclined to stick to his own gods merely because they are Chinese, and to distrust the gods of other nations merely because they are of the foreigner.

The American missionaries have the hardest time of any, because they are so much at the mercy of their Consul. Our Consul in the Far East represents to the American merchant and missionary the whole round of governmental functions, civil, military, and even ecclesiastical. Mr. Fowler, of Chefoo, told me that he was the only one out of eleven American Consuls in China who had been in that position more than a year. If a missionary wishes to make a will, to do any legal act, to obtain redress at law, the American Consul is his judge. If a missionary desires to marry, as often happens, he has to come to the Consulate. This is sometimes embarrassing, for missionaries are not rich, as a rule, and travelling in China is apt to be injurious to health, if not dangerous to personal safety. Imagine an American lady, perhaps a thousand miles from an American Consulate, compelled to travel under the horrible conditions prevailing in China in order to be declared legally married. We in America naturally ask, why another missionary, an ordained clergyman, could not marry them. United States law has, in China, at least, been construed in the manner most likely to swell the fees of the Consul.

The Rev. Dr. Sims, while I was in China, protested against being compelled to make long and dangerous journeys through China for matrimonial purposes. He stated that Dr. King, at Tai-an-foo, when engaged to Miss Knight of the same city, had been required to go to Chinkiang, under their protest, to be married. On their return up the Grand Canal, she took small-pox and died within one week after reaching home.

In another instance, equally well authenticated, the Rev. Dr. Royall and Miss Sullivan were married by a fellow-missionary, after having obtained the consent of the Consul-General at Shanghai. Some time after the marriage, however, this same Consul coolly informed them that he had been mistaken, and that they must come to the Consulate at Shanghai and go through the ceremony over again.

Please imagine the feelings of Miss Sullivan, thus charged by the highest legal tribunal with having lived with a man who was

not her husband! This so affected the young lady that her life at one time was deemed in danger.

The Rev. Mr. Blaylock and Miss Humphries, who were married at Tai-an-foo by a brother missionary before about eighteen English and American witnesses, were subsequently informed that they were illegally united, and must proceed to do the thing over again before our Consul in Shanghai. They did so at great cost and personal risk. In returning up the Grand Canal, so said the Rev. Dr. Sims, Mr. Blaylock was taken seriously ill, was kept a year in bed at Chin-an-foo, and managed to reach home with extreme difficulty. He is now in America, a physical wreck.

The Rev. Mr. Hudson had gone with his betrothed to Chin-kiang. On their return Mr. Hudson was attacked by robbers, and narrowly escaped with his life.

The history of evangelical mission-work in China is a painful chronicle of persecution, nobly sustained by a large body of devoted men and women frequently poorly equipped for their work, and always inadequately organized. If all Christian missionaries could unite under one head and proceed upon some coherent plan of operations, the result would no doubt be better. At present, the Chinese marvel at the lack of unity amongst Christians, particularly when a Catholic chapel opens its doors close to a Baptist meeting-house, and the ministers of each tell the Chinese that their particular faith only is efficacious.

The missionary has in China to combat a vast volume of inherited conceit and prejudice. He has to deal with Orientals conscious of a historic sequence longer than that of any white dynasty, full of triumphs in the domain of science, and rich in philosophy. The Chinese stood at the head of civilization when Europe was but a barbarous province. Hundreds of inventions are claimed by the Chinese at a period when the learning of Europe was monopolized by a handful of monks. The Chinaman despises the profession of arms, and so far he knows of Europe little beyond her power as manifested in a military manner. He shuns intercourse with the outer barbarian, for the customs of his ancestors are sacred in his eyes, and he considers the future of China bound up with devotion to the existing order of things. A highly cultivated missionary who can confer with learned Chinese scholars can do much to remove unfounded prejudice in the small circle of his acquaintance, and this I be-

lieve he does. The Chinaman who sees daily the good work done by a white man, if he does not himself become a Christian, at least lays aside the desire to murder him.

It is worth noting that where the white man in China is seen most frequently, there, little by little, he has awakened the most tolerance amongst the natives. How, then, can we account for the strange massacres that have taken place at short intervals, not merely in the interior, but at treaty ports like the one at Tientsin in 1870? A study of the different assaults upon foreigners in China forces us reluctantly to the conclusion that in almost every case these have been instigated and carried out, if not by Government agents, at least with their consent and approval. The public is officially informed, in every case, that such and such a mission station was destroyed by the mob, and that the Chinese Government could not possibly prevent such outbreaks. The Chinese Government, however, has always succeeded in punishing severely any disobedience against its own orders. It is only when the victim is a white man that the mandarins prove powerless to interfere. Even when ringleaders have been indicated, these have always found Chinese protection; and, in short, China from top to bottom has given abundant evidence that she does not desire to maintain her share in treaties which encourage white people to reside in the Celestial Empire.

The German Emperor, when he avenged the death of his missionaries by seizing Kiao Chao, acted in a manner strange to our rules of international law, but under the circumstances he gave China a lesson that she sadly required. It is a lesson which should be repeated on every fitting occasion; for, in the last three centuries, it is the only one by which she has ever profited in her intercourse with the white man.

In 1647, the East India Company commenced British trade with China by sending to the Canton River the four good ships "Dragon," "Sun," "Catherine," and "Anne." They anchored off the Bogue Forts, and at the request of the mandarins waited for the promised trade facilities. They waited four days, at the end of which time the Chinese forts opened fire upon them with "forty-six of iron-caste ordnance, each piece between six and seven hundredweight." The ancient chronicler then remarks: "Herewith the whole fleet, being instantly incensed, did on a sudden display the bloody ensign." The result of it was a landing party,

the capture of the Fort, and an excellent understanding with the mandarins. From Canton River, in 1647, to Kiao Chao Bay, in 1897, no better method of dealing with official China has yet been devised. It has always been the same old story of official mendacity and treachery, followed by an explosion of wrath and violence from the white man's side, after which has ensued a period of good understanding and trade expansion.

Up to the time when Queen Victoria ascended the throne of England, Anglo-Saxon traders were tolerated at Canton much as infected emigrants are treated in New York harbor. They were the victims of official insolence and interference; forbidden to have their wives and families with them; forbidden to go into the country; forbidden to enter the Chinese city. No Chinaman was allowed to give them instruction, and their intercourse was strictly limited to officials specially selected. No changes have been effected during the many years that have passed, save such as have been wrung from an unwilling government by threats of bombardment. The white man has had no serious war with China, speaking in a European sense. The Opium War, the Lorchha Arrow War, the Anglo-French Expedition of 1860—these and similar smaller enterprises were all undertaken to avenge gross breaches of the law of nations. The history of England's intercourse with China shows but too clearly that, so far from having misused her strength in bullying a weaker nation, she has, to an extraordinary extent, submitted to official insult and violation of treaty rights rather than have recourse to force.

When Commodore Perry anchored his fleet in Yeddo Bay, less than half a century ago, he awakened a people artificially hampered by mediæval custom, but whose bodies and brains pulsated to the calls of the nineteenth century. Japan arose as one man, and to-day honors the name of Perry with a fervor only second to that which we have for Christopher Columbus. Europe has been thundering at the gates of China for three hundred years, but this thunder has started no more echo than moist fire-crackers. One city of China may be smashed to pieces, but the next takes no interest in it. A whole province may be overrun by the enemy without calling forth any help from its neighbors. Through generation after generation of officialism, ignorant, retrograde and corrupt, the great body of China has become torpid, and will remain so for just so long as the white man permits the

present administration to persist. The vast official body of China has, or believes that it has, a direct pecuniary interest in the repression, or at least the discouragement, of foreign intercourse. The official ring of China covers that country to a degree not far removed from that to which Tammany Hall controls New York. The mandarin has large vested interests which are all threatened by intercourse with people of our education; consequently the rulers of cities encourage their people to believe that dirty streets are good, and that pestilence must be combated by backsheesh to the priests. The white man forms a settlement wherein the streets are cleaned, lighted and policed; where hospitals care for the sick; where courts of justice are open to all. Such things as these are an abomination to the orthodox Chinese official, to the same degree that the late Colonel Waring, who first cleaned the streets of New York, was an eyesore to professional politicians.

Chinese officialdom is at war with the white man's civilization, and it fights with the weapons it deems most effective. Gunboats and battalions are not to its taste. So it makes a treaty every paragraph of which it proceeds to nullify the moment the ink is dry. It instigates murder, and then explains officially that it was the mob that was responsible.

In 1858 there was signed the famous treaty of Tientsin. The eighth article of this treaty is regarded as something of a Magna Charta, at least by the missionary. It reads:

"The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching it, or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities, nor shall any such, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the laws, be persecuted or interfered with."

So far as paper and ink are concerned, the white man in China has secured as much official protection as he needs for carrying on trade or conducting missionary enterprise. But, side by side with these generous treaty concessions, the Chinese Government has tolerated the systematic incitement of the mob to every act calculated to make treaties of no avail. So far back as 1754, foreign residents complained that "injurious posters were annually put up by the government, accusing foreigners of horrible crimes, and intended to expose them to the contempt of the populace."

Even then, the accusations were made that missionaries gouged out the eyes of foundlings and mutilated women in a vile manner—charges which have been persisted in to our day. When vigorously addressed by a combination of foreign powers, the Pekin government has always officially repudiated the authors of these posters; but at the same time it has given private intimation that this propaganda was pleasing to the Emperor. Indeed, those who publish the filthy posters invoke official sanction by printing, as preface, the *Sacred Edict*—a sort of paternal address from the throne promulgated by the joint efforts of two canonized emperors some two centuries ago. Dr. Williams, in his “Middle Kingdom,” says that this document is regarded as a most sacred command, which is proclaimed throughout the Empire by the local officers on the 1st and 15th days of every month.

As a pendant of the Tientsin Treaty it is worth preserving. It reads thus:

“With respect to heterodox books not in accordance with the teachings of the sages, and those tending to excite and disturb the people, to give rise to differences and irregularities, and to undermine the foundations of all things; all such teach corrupt and dangerous doctrines which must be suppressed and exterminated. . . . From ancient times, the three religions have been propagated together. Besides Confucianism, which holds the pre-eminence, we have Buddhism and Taoism. . . . There is, however, a class of vagabond adventurers (Christian) who under the pretext of teaching these systems (Buddhism, etc.), bring them into the greatest disrepute, making false parade of what is propitious and unpropitious, and of future rewards and punishments, for the purpose of giving currency to their foolish and unfounded stories. Their object in the beginning is to make a living. By degrees they collect men and women into promiscuous gatherings for the purpose of burning incense. . . . The worst of all is that there lurk within these assemblies treacherous, depraved and designing persons, who form dangerous combinations and pledge themselves to each other by oaths. They meet in darkness and disperse at dawn. They imperil their lives, sin against righteousness, and deceive and entrap the people. . . . Such is the religion of the West, which reveres the Lord of heaven. It also is not to be regarded as orthodox. Because its teachers (the early Jesuits) were well versed in mathematics, our government made use of them. Of this you must not be ignorant. As to unauthorized doctrines which deceive the people, our laws cannot tolerate them. For false and corrupt teachers our government has fixed punishments.”

Thus with one hand the Chinese Government promises the white man legal protection, and with the other pledges his favor to the mob when it guts the missionary compound and murders the unorthodox inmates.

The public misrepresentations of the spirit and aims of the Christian religion and of the objects which animate Christian missionaries in their work are almost incredible. I have before me a specimen of the posters which are from time to time exhibited throughout the country with a view to bring indignation and contempt upon the foreigner. It represents our Saviour in the shape of a hog. He is being worshipped by two "foreign devils," the one marked "teacher," the other "disciple." These two are branded with the most insulting epithets known to Chinese vocabulary, notably those indicating lack of sexual virtue. One inscription reads: "This is the beast which the foreign devils follow. The hog's skin and bristles are still upon him."

Down the left-hand side of the picture and in the middle of the poster are inscriptions which are absolutely too obscene for publication.

The interest of this poster lies not in its indecency and quaint exhibition of ignorance, but in the fact that it has been distributed with official connivance throughout China; that it has been exposed in public places alongside of imperial edicts forbidding the publication of such posters; and that whenever massacres have taken place the mob has been first inflamed by teaching of this nature.

In 1870, on the 21st of June, the mob at Tientsin attacked the French mission, murdering ten Sisters of Mercy, amongst others. This massacre was followed by a trial which even the most careful students of things Chinese regarded as a fraud. A dozen or so of innocent coolies were decapitated, but the real authors were rewarded, because they were high in office. In the midst of the Franco-German War this horrible massacre was little noticed in Europe; and, after all, it differed only in degree from a dozen others, all instigated by the official organization which prepared the filthy posters to which I have referred.

The Tientsin massacres were preceded by a flood of posters teaching the mob that missionary establishments abducted native women and children for purposes of mutilation.

Every diabolical practice is attributed to missionaries, not merely for religious purposes, but for the mere greed of money.

The Chinaman is taught to think that they extract the eyes of his dead countrymen in order to use them in the manufacture of precious metals. Some recent cartoons even accuse Christians

of gouging Chinese eyes out before death. One cartoon exhibits to the mob two murderous missionaries in the act of taking out eyes, while a couple of blind Chinamen are groping about in misery. This cartoon is headed: "The Hog Sect gouging out the eyes." A popular pamphlet distributed by officials for the purpose of inciting hatred of the foreigner makes this statement:

"In case of funerals, the religious teachers eject all the relatives and friends from the house, and the corpse is put into the coffin with closed doors. Both eyes are secretly taken out, and the orifices sealed up with plaster. This is what is called 'sealing the eyes for the Western journey.' . . . The reason for extracting the eyes is this: From one hundred pounds of Chinese lead eight pounds of silver can be extracted, and the remaining ninety-two pounds of lead can be sold at the original cost, but the only way to obtain this silver is by compounding the lead with the eyes of Chinamen. The eyes of foreigners are of no use for this purpose, hence they do not take out the eyes of their own people, but only those of the Chinese. The method by which the silver is obtained has never been discovered by any of the native Christians, during the long period in which this religion has been propagated here."

No trash is too silly so long as it charges cruelty, lewdness, and money-greed to the white man in general, and to the missionary in particular. At a distance of ten thousand miles, we can afford to smile at these infantile productions and pity the perpetrators, as did John Huss those who reviled him. But to the white man on the spot these are more than the squibs of mischievous children. They are the programme of a government too weak to establish sound administration, but strong enough to obstruct the white man in his efforts at reform.

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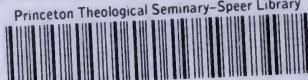
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